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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1914

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WEST GERMAN APPRAISAL OF GDR HISTORIOGRAPHY

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 16 Jun 81 p 11

["Signals of a New Opening in Contemporary Historiography? Three Studies on the History of the GDR"--Reviews by Wilhelm Bleek of the following three books: (1) "Geschichtswissenschaft und Politik in der DDR. Das Problem der Periodisierung" (Historiography and Politics in the GDR. The problem of Periodization) by Christina von Buxhoeveden, Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, Cologne, 1980, 303 pages, DM30.00; (2) "Geschichtswissenschaft im geteilten Deutschland. Entwicklungsgeschichte, Organizationsstruktur, Funktionen, Theorie- und Methodenprobleme in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in der DDR" (Historiography in Divided Germany. Developmental History, Organizational Structure, Functions, Problems of Theory and Methodology in the FRG and in the GDR) by Guenther Heydemannn, Erlanger Historische Studien (Erlangen History Studies) Vol 6, Verlag Peter Lang, Frankfurt/Main, Bern, Cirencester/Britain, 1980, 267 pages, 36.00 Swiss francs; (3) "Kleine Geschichte der DDR" (Brief History of the GDR) by Hermann Weber, Edition Deutschland Archiv, Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, Cologne, 1980, 200 pages, DM 12.80. For various references to other items of related information see translation of an earlier West German review of Buxhoeveden's book in JPRS 78075, 14 May 1981, No 1879 of this series, pp 42-44]

[Text] By and large, the history of the GDR is being ignored in the FRG. The general level of our contemporary research and philosophy and of our history and social science instruction concerning the development of the German people is characterized by the title of the trend-setting book by Hans-Peter Schwarz, "Vom Reich zur Bundesrepublik" (From the Reich to the Federal Republic). German history after 1945 is condensed into the history of West Germany and if the development of the SBZ/DDR (Soviet Occupation Zone/GDR) is mentioned, this is mostly done to provide negative contrast material for the postwar history (period) of the FRG. In the fields of educational policy and science we are in the process of giving up the idea of that concept of "unity of the nation" which, on the other hand, we constantly invoke in declarations on questions of the Germany policy and constitutional law.

The realization of these facts was the motive for the publication of a new presentation of the history of the SBZ/GDR by Hermann Wever. The work presents a number of introductions to particular aspects of the GDR (geography, culture, politics, economy), published as special issues of the magazine DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV and meant especially as instructional aids for teachers. These publications can be ordered from the All-German Institute (Adenauerallee 10 5300 Bonn 1).

Pedagogical aims are also the mark of Hermann Weber's 'Brief History of the GDR." The text of this book is illustrated by numerous informative quotations and facsimiles of documents, and is supplemented by chronological tables, short biographies and literature references. The focal point of the presentation is the political development of the GDR against the background of German and world politics. In addition, Weber has included social and economic developments. Weber is primarily interested in presenting the most important facts, but he also does not shy away from evaluation. His analysis is convincing. Only when he uses the adjective "Stalinist," as he frequently does, to characterize the forms of power and organization even after the 20th CPSU Congress (1956), the reader would first like to have had an explanation of the term "Stalinism." The way "Stalinist" is used in the text, it has a pejorative rather than explanatory effect.

Weber's "Brief Histry", to sum up, is not just a popularized sketch, but the currently best scholarly comprehensive presentation of the history of the SBZ/GDR in the FRG, encompassing the extensive detailed knowledge of its author. The "Brief History" is a useful aid in understanding the present politics and situation of the GDR not only because the presentation extends all the way to 1980 but also because it describes clearly the historical inevitability of the present situation of the GDR and the traumatic experiences of its population and leadership.

Course Change of SED Historians

Christina von Buxhoeveden's book presents a more profound interpretation of the still controversial phase of the history of the SBZ/GDR, the "anti-fascist-democratic period" between 1945 and 1952. She explains the contrast between the original goals of the KPD/SED of 1945-46 and the results of 1952 when Ulbricht proclaimed the "construction of socialism" at the second SED Congress. This work makes clear that, contrary to East German claims regarding the "inevitability" of the development and West German claims of a planned "Sovietization," the postwar history of the SBZ/GDR has been marked by ambivalence and openness, by contradictions and course changes caused primarily by the uncertain situation of German politics.

But the real topic of the book is not the events between 1945 and 1952 but rather their interpretation by GDR historians. The author describes in a subtle way the changing and contradictory efforts by GDR historians to coordinate the "anti-fascist-democratic phase" with the periodization scheme of the Marxist-Leninist approach to history. The discussion of historical periods is used by the author to focus attention on the methodological-theoretical efforts of GDR historiography and its complex relationship to politics.

To us in the FRG, the following question is of special interest: where are the basic differences between GDR historiography and its FRG equivalent? what do the two still have in common? is there a possibility of a dialogue between the two kinds of German historiography? These questions are investigated by Guenther Heydemann in his work which ocvers a wide area and is rich in information. It has received this year's Ernst Richert Prize of the Federal Ministry for Inner-German Relations. Heydemann describes the contrast between the developmental history, organizational structure and especially the discussions on methods and theory in the FRG and the GDR. Measured by his own ambitions in regard to content and language, however, Heydemann's book, because of the wide range of its themes, has turned out to be too diffuse and to opinionated and therefore vague.

In his final comparison, Heydemann claims that there is a "certain rapprochement" between the two German historiographies. As a reason for this conclusion he cites the fact that since the middle of the sixties there has been developing in the two German states a parallel socio-political debate on the role of historiocal consciousness, history teaching and the basic discussion of methodology and theory. Also, Heydemann claims that the two historiographies are paying more attention to each other and refer to each other. Heydemann sees the possibility of a more intensive dialogue--if politics (that means the SED) would only permit it.

This conclusion seems to correspond more to the wishful thinking emanating from the Germany policy rather than to the reality of historiography and history teaching in the two German states. Even though the study of history in the GDR is referring more intensively to the work done by its West German "hostile brothers," our own historians and history teachers by and large ignore the history and historiography of the GDR. One look at East and West German history journals and their articles and reviews testifies to the phenomenon that can also be observed in other fields, namely that in the FRG the "unity of the nation" is invoked but rarely practiced, whereas in the GDR it is officially denied but given a certain weight in practice, again and again, especially when it comes to the efforts made by the ruling party to define borders (Abgrenzung).

The fact that three important books on the history and historiography of the GDR have been published in the FRG in the same year does not necessarily refute this critical appraisal of FRG historiography. The publication by Hermann Weber comes from the pen of the West German expert on GDR contemporary history, and the two dissertations by Buxhoeveden and Heydemann have been published by the Erlangen Institute for Society and Science which has specialized in the history of science and in aspects of political science in the GDR. In view of our officially proclaimed goals in regard to the Germany policy, the hope remains that these three new publications will not just be an exception to the rule of FRG ignorance in regard to the GDR, but rather that they will signify a new opening in contemporary historiography and history teaching in the FRG.

8889
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MEANING OF COMMUNIST COMMITMENT ANALYZED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by Imre Cserhalmi: "Our Commitment"]

[Text] I would prefer to begin by saying what I write below is intended only for communists. Not because I want to speak only of matters which pertain to members in the inner life of the party, but because I would like to appeal to those who are committed. And yet, I must make a correction already, for what we call commitment is undertaken and born witness to by many more persons than there are party members. And thus there are many who sense and know that to be committed is a condition which was never easy, and it is not easy today.

To be committed, that is, to undertake a consistent and steadfast service to some concern and goal and a way of thinking and form of behavior appropriate thereto represents such a burden to a seriously undertaken responsibility that there is only one thing that can make it bearable: the knowledge that we are one with many others in respect to the most essential substantive elements and tasks of this commitment. For example, in our country the people have come to a basic and broad understanding in their affirmation of socialism, and actually conceiving the building and reality of socialism as the primary national interest.

On the Tuition Fee

I believe I could with cause and good reason still list a number of those general principles and goals from which we can, exclusive of any doubt, experience that the vast majority of our people are committed to us. We do not need a holiday occasion to put this popular-national achievement of ours into words and to place it on a fitting height in our value system. We do not wish to do it with the intention of boasting or for the sake of admiration--although we are genuinely happy for it--but in order that we shall never forget the path we have travelled, where we have come to, and that we should never forget it as a determining factor when we prepare the plans for our future course. Thinking about this seriously and with commitment, we cannot forget, for example, that at times we also had to pay with blood the historical tuition for travelling the road that has led us thus far, and "blind" fate could not always differentiate among the truly responsible, the guilty and the unfortunate. Therefore, when we want to think and act in a way true to our principles, we are obligated to make use of the lessons acquired in our lives as the treasure of history given at dear cost--for the very reason that the commitment to socialism and a people wanting socialism should never again cost superfluous sacrifices and dangers.

on it. Let there be no misunderstanding: in questions affecting the fate of peace, detente, disarmament, that is, the fate of all mankind, there is no stance or strength which is superfluous. But the dimensions of our country make it impossible for us to fulfill a cardinal, determining role in the above questions. On the other hand, the extent of the credit and weight of what it does regarding the outside world depends on what it does inside. How great and valid is its commitment at home? Is it attractive, creative, sincere, and ready and capable of true service?

On Democracy

I believe that we can and must rely to all these questions with what we can say about our democracy. Democracy as a means, which at the present level of our society and its ambition appears to be one of the most important. I would risk saying that even our economic progress depends to a very large extent on the protection and realization of democratic public mentality and democratic social relations, and where necessary on its further development. We are speaking of socialist democracy, which of course recognizes not only rights but also obligations, not only personal sovereignty but discipline, order, exactness and decency. And in the name of the working masses--it is indeed their democracy!--it can only give a social commission for this purpose, it will endure only this; that is, it will consistently take action against the violators. True democracy is indeed committed.

Therefore, it is essential that we cut back in our public life the idle motions of democracy, which would spread wild. We can name as idling, for example, those salutes of administration and empty formalities which in the end reduce operational work. At times, we encumber ourselves with so many preliminary and superfluous conditions before making a decision that by the time the decision is actually made, it can only follow the events, which it should have influenced. And with all this preliminary, obligatory--or "highly recommended"--ceremony, it is the essence itself that is lost: its definite, clear character, its orientation toward a precisely defined goal.

Truly the respect and boldness of commitment is frequently necessary for us to reduce these dangers, and that the administration of democracy will not replace democracy itself, and behind it will not be concealed irresponsibility, refusal to take a position, and the kibitzer. But in the same way from the other aspect, voluntarism should not be able to hide behind it, which would like to shine with commissar virtues (for it is always impatient) there, too, where life is consolidated and with the fig leaf of idle democracy would or could conceal the fact that it wants not even a drop of socialist democracy. We must therefore, constantly be on the alert to know in whose service democracy, as a means, stands and can stand. Because, and with this I conclude the list of examples, it will become a caricature of itself if it does not lead to decisions for the general good, and their deliberate implementation.

On the Interrelationships

I mention our relationship to democracy as the most important practical and daily commitment because it is only a truly democratic atmosphere which can give commitment to its actual standing. Those decisions whose correctness is attested to by

Today, the concept of commitment is being more and more frequently discussed—in speaking of the national interests, in analyzing the situation and prospects of detente, in drafting the tasks of party work, as well as on seeing the various and at times heatedly actual focus of problems in world politics. But this phenomenon is related to the fact that our thinking has modified in recent years: the striving for stability has come to the forefront in the life of the individual and in the fate of the world, the role of the search for a fixed point has increased, and a special importance is given to everything which appears capable of guaranteeing the security of existence.

But actually to everything? Not entirely. And the commitment in these so-called large questions is exactly the fact that it does not seek to protect and build the most precious one, human life, at any price, level, perspective, and in any social medium. Yes, indeed, there are many who say this and may say it, but let us not act as if the world had so many levels and perspectives, or such a range of choices in regard to its future fate.

On the Area of Mobility

The world situation which is called difficult, grave, and fraught with dangers is strained in this way among other things exactly because today the alternatives have been vastly reduced, and the area of mobility for action narrowed. Peace or war, detente and disarmament or privation and nuclear catastrophe, and so on: there is not a tenth or twentieth way, not even a third way! In this situation the billions of people in the world with a sound mind understandably vote for life. This is a constructive act, an important factor, but in itself is still not a commitment. A commitment demands much more than this because the more it wants to know and can understand about the world the greater the responsibility that it bears. Commitment does not rest satisfied with the voice and strength of instinct (no matter how human and true it may be), but rather it "sees into a conscious future" or constantly strives to do so.

We can also put it this way that commitment means a conscious representation of the past and the future in the present. It does not want to lose sight of either experiences and goals. From yesterday it seeks to deduce the tactics of today, but for its sake it is not ready to sacrifice the strategy of tomorrow. We could truly continue to make a long list of what is assumed, meant, demanded by commitment, and what it can result in. It would be justified to look a bit behind the phenomena and to reflect on the prime causes and timeliness of some more frequent word uses. But it is at least useful to this extent, or even more useful, to examine the concrete substance of the concept. If for no other reason than that the road generally leads to nearest, everyday life.

That is, it leads to where it is the most difficult to be committed. Where the uses and successes of commitment depend on the strength and credit of the personality, but in any case is constantly being measured thereon. The fate of the whole world hardly depends on the commitment of a given Hungarian communist or a Hungarian party committee, but the atmosphere of all Hungarian cities, the action capability of a given electoral district, perhaps the happiness of one of our countrymen and the struggle for justice on his behalf may very well depend

the results achieved in the past two decades or more and are recognized everywhere, were formulated through many, often heated debates and conflicting views and opinions. It stems from the nature of debate that in the end life can justify only one side: the side of those who espoused the cause of successful change.

But because life justifies one side, this does not mean this side has any reason or right to dispute that the other side was also thinking intelligently and responsibly, and what is more with sincere commitment to the cause. It would represent simply the expiration of a commitment to the constructive will if anyone were to feel that we must or can now sweep from the great work table of joint and committed thinking whoever said something else when life still had not "spoken out" in its own voice. In a democratic atmosphere we must oppose even the attempt to do anything like this.

Thus it may become more obvious to everyone that in our society the commitment to the constructive intent and to the defense and everyday practice of democracy is interrelated. In fact, it is one and the same thing.

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SZAKALI INTERVIEWED ON WORK OF CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Jul 81 p 5

[Interview with Jozsef Szakali, chairman of the Central People's Control Committee, by Gyula Fejer; date and place not specified]

[Text] In recent years the party and the government on a number of occasions have put on the agenda the question of the further development of state control. Decisions and resolutions which promote the modernization of control also increase requirements on central people's control.

We talked with Jozsef Szakali, chairman of the Central People's Control Committee, on timely tasks of central control.

[Question] In respect to control in general, people think of a strict accounting to responsibility and the following unpleasant consequences. But regarding the work of people's control they emphasize everywhere, on the other hand, its helpful intent, and they speak of that. How can you explain this?

[Answer] In our society, all forms of control are basically different from the old, for it serves the interests of the working class and all the working people, it helps in realization of our socialist goals, and it supplements state control with broad social control. A helpful intent, therefore, is the essence of control work. Our organization has the means, independently of different kinds of branch and local interests, to review the whole of social and economic reality, and search out those causes which make it difficult successfully to realize good ideas. In our comprehensive investigations which seek out interrelationships, we look for, above all, an answer to how we can realize more effectively and better than now our possibilities in administration, management and all areas of life.

We Do Our Work Well When We React Rapidly to the Problems of the Population

[Question] According to this, control is a tool for directing social, state and economic life. It is a leadership function?

[Answer] Yes, control is an organic part of leadership, and in directing our social and economic life it is becoming more and more indispensable. Decisions which were promising at an earlier time must now frequently be evaluated and refined after they have been implemented. It is only in this way that we can protect the results we have achieved thus far. Therefore, an improvement in and modernization

of control methods must keep exact pace with the development of the economic guidance system. We do our work well when we react rapidly to the problems affecting the broad strata of the population and when we immediately inform the leadership of experiences that are revealed, and the leadership by the use of this information can make the decisions that will eliminate errors and weaknesses. This was the case, for example, in the investigations that dealt with the situation in the children's institutions, housing distribution, the care of patients, and the revealing of bureaucratic elements in public administration.

[Question] The investigation which has been conducted for many years now regarding energy savings evoked a great reaction, but we still have not reached a point where we could declare that the economy measures have brought the desired results. What do you see as the reason for this?

[Answer] Our method is to discover weaknesses and make recommendations to eliminate the causes. We not only say what the problem is but also give a prescription for the cure. Unfortunately, these documents end up in the file drawer at many enterprises, because of the old attitude that since there was no penalty "we managed to pass" the inspection. Namely, the energy management investigation which affected all branches, made a great number of good and intelligent recommendations worth tons and millions. The controllers offered about 4,000 ideas nationwide, and at a given enterprise they would initiate eight measures on the average of which six would be for eliminating losses and improving efficiency.

[Question] We spoke before of basic and repeat investigations. What is the difference between the two?

[Answer] A basic investigation is the revealing of a subject in the first instance. In earlier years we regarded it as natural to think that we were working well when we did as many basic investigations as possible. But in the course of doing so, we came to realize that this amounted to little more than ticking off the items. Since then we have changed this, and now we do almost as many repeat investigations as basic ones. In the future we would like to improve this ratio because the true value of our work is frequently latent in the repeat investigations. In all those cases where we regard it as necessary that we ascertain the fate of the jointly developed measures, we do not close the investigation. With the conclusion of the basic investigation we state that we will pay another visit after a certain length of time to see whether the errors have been corrected and whether the measures have brought the expected results. This is not only the repeat inspection of one enterprise or institution but also a control of ourselves. We are not infallible either, and even the best-appearing suggestions must be proved in practice. If we err, we draw the conclusion. Therefore, those frequently expressed beliefs that people's control looks for an exposure at any cost are not real. At the most, only those can assert this who are not familiar with our work.

[Question] But it is also frequently said that the people's control puts the suitability of leaders under the magnifying glass and does not investigate phenomena but the mistakes of persons.

[Answer] This is exactly what I started to talk about. Let me say it plainly: we have been accused of anti-managerialism. But this is a faulty view. Why? Every kind of phenomenon and control occurs among people, and if matters are not

going well at an enterprise we cannot call in the doorman for questionning. We cannot expect a manager to applaud if we lay the negative facts and findings out on the table. But this is the responsbility of the controllers even as it is the initiative for a calling to responsibility. A leadership assignment places special political, economic responsibility on everyone. Most of the managers meet this responsibility. Therefore, if during our investigation we encounter leadership neglect, glaring lack of understanding, arbitrariness, and squandering of social property, it is our obligation to speak up. With his attitude the leader decisively influences the management and atmosphere of the work place, and therefore we call attention to his errors and help him to correct these. However, if someone commits the same errors over and over again and is incapable of change, it is actually he himself who fills out the certificate of unsuitability.

The Creative Element of Socialist Democracy is Open Criticism

[Question] In discussions regarding control, there is another view that crops up: namely, that control obstructs enterprise independence, inhibits the development of creative forces, and sometimes even becomes an end to itself. What is your opinion of these views?

[Answer] Only those assume something like this who do not know the essence of control, they do not know or they do not want to acknowledge that open, honorable debate is the creative element of socialist democracy, and the basis thereof is a well-intentioned search that seeks to reveal facts. Who would say that we violate enterprise independence if we reveal weaknesses in certificate accounting discipline or lack of organization within the plan, and we point out ways of how it could be done better or in some other way? Moreover, we also promote the circulation of good, successful methods, for the controller performing the investigation works at a similar plant or institution and is exceptionally knowledgeable of his profession. That is why he can give advice.

The people's control is an economic and political school of education, its social workers examine how certain organs function from the property right point of view. In the capital city and the megyes, the people's control matters. At the same time, last year for example, 25,000 of our social worker colleagues participated in national and local investigations. It has already become general practice for people's controllers to be asked about investigations at their places of work and for their advice to be requested. This has a dual benefit. On one hand, they anticipate errors and failing reports--that is, they learn from the errors of others; and on the other hand they take over adaptable experiences and methods.

[Question] How can an apparatus with such a small staff meet the requirements of such proliferating tasks?

[Answer] A small independent apparatus working at the KNEB [Central People's Control Committee] and at the 142 area committees, that is capital city, megye, city, city-jaras and ward committees, is sufficient for they only help out and serve the social army. The professionals of people's control are encompassed by elected bodies, their work is supported by those people's controllers who because of special social honor and party commission receive letters of reference. Therefore, it is actually the area committees that maintain relations with our social

worker colleagues. They perform their work based on a good political background, helping to prepare and implement local party and state leadership decisions. The area committees build relations not only with the local party organs. It is becoming more and more common for the people's front, KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League], the trade unions, the public prosecutors, and others to help in the work of the people's control and to mutually utilize experiences.

[Question] Can you give us a new example in cooperation?

[Answer] Recently, the activisits of the people's front and the people's controllers investigated why sow stocks of household and auxiliary farms were declining throughout the country. They called on the persons concerned, noting the complaints of the animal breeders, namely that there was not enough fodder, they were not satisfied with the work of the purchasers, and they were not receiving the profits they had anticipated. The participants in the investigation came together to review and discuss their experiences at a national conference, where leaders of the Agricultural and Food Ministry were also present. Based on the idea that many eyes see more things, they worked out proposals to improve the situation. The Council of Ministers discussed these proposals and ordered worthwhile measures which are still having a positive effect.

[Question] The people's control is an organization which embraces branches and is missioned for complex investigations. Of course, this approach cannot do without cooperation with the ministries and the national authorities. Can you tell us about this?

[Answer] We are trying to conduct as few and as basic investigations as possible. In addition to this feature of our work, I can also speak of another: we are trying to receive information from as many ministerial heads as possible on measures taken following the KNEB investigations. For example, the minister of health informed the Central People's Control Committee of the situation regarding dentistry for children. Most recently, the minister of domestic trade gave us information on measures taken to improve the commodity supplies of the population, and on their results. Those who provide this information serve the public interest, for they find methods to eliminate problems that affect many people. Together with the exchanges of experience, there is an increase in control tasks carried out jointly with the ministries. But the ministries, the national authorities and the people's control seek for possibilities of better cooperation not only in large, comprehensive subjects but also strive to investigate more successfully the reports and complaints of public interest. This is not a small task, for last year 5,000 reports of public interest and 2,000 complaints were received by the people's control.

People Often Turn to Us Because They Receive No Answers at the Work Place

[Question] What can be read in general from the public interest reports, what is their fate?

[Answer] Nowadays people react sensitively to negative phenomena; for example, to weaknesses in management, to bureaucratic or insensitive administration, to abuse of power, and to offenses against social property. This sensitivity is a

good sign: it indicates a bent toward and an interest in public life. It also happens that a letter writer may not reveal his identity. Undeniably, some of these writers maintain improbabilities either deliberately or for lack of appropriate information. But there are also some good reports among them, which also provides food for thought because the sender of such a letter fears reprisal either on solid or imaginary grounds. Unfortunately, we have not yet succeeded in making it generally known that those who report matters of public interest are protected by law.

The people's controllers at the area committees and at the KNEB handle every case with the same thoroughness. It has been our experience that people often turn to our organization because they failed to receive a satisfactory reply to their observations at their work place.

Many call attention to weaknesses in supplies to population and consumer services. Nor do they fail to comment on the fact that the work of the auto repair industry has scarcely improved despite higher prices. It is still difficult to obtain many kinds of parts, and thus the repair of durable consumer items often takes a long time. Moreover, the services--although this is the regulation--do no willingly exchange household appliances and automobiles that cannot be fixed for a long time. Both those who make complaints and those who send in reports of public interest frequently object to the operation of housing cooperatives, chiefly the house construction cooperatives. The proliferation of these signs has prompted us to begin a basic investigation of the housing cooperatives.

[Question] How do you make use of public interest reports?

[Answer] First of all, we investigate everything, and then we inform the interested state organs as necessary. But it has also happened that a given public interest report will result in an investigation of national dimensions. Such, for example, was the report which at the time called attention to weaknesses in children's nourishment, which by a chain reaction, as it were, was put on the agenda in villages, jarases, cities and interest in it still has not finally subsided.

It is our goal to improve further the handling of reports. In the future I would like to see it made general for our committee to meet personally with those who submit public interest reports. It is a happy development that in more and more places people's control groups are being formed of young people, pensioners, who are expressly specializing in the investigation of public interest reports.

[Question] Increasing the effectiveness of control is a task that is on the agenda. In conclusion, therefore, I would request you tell us what tasks face people's control in the coming period.

[Answer] The people's controllers will perform serious investigations. I shall mention two such investigations where by experiences we can count on public interest in the near future. One is the analysis of the relationship between enterprise manpower management and the change in the product structure. The other cuts to the bone: it will investigate the implementation of the MT [Council of Ministers]-SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] resolution regarding plant democracy.

Of course, it is not enough to assemble a list of serious investigations. One of the conditions of further progress is that we should plan our work more far-sightedly and more basically, for we would like our investigations to be more effective, and help theleading organs better in their work of preparing decisions. But this will not come about by itself. We ourselves must prepare the work better, and it also depends on us to reveal the facts and the errors more fundamentally at the site.

We would like to broaden the practice of having the people's controller discuss his suggestions on site with the interested people, because for the most part these are accepted and implemented by local people. We would like to raise the level of continuation training and orientation, and further strengthen the social character of people's control. In the future, we shall devote greater attention to repeat controls because only consistent calling to account can create better work. In wake of the investigations we must work out good, usable recommendations, and we must work more consistently than heretofore to implement them. In any event, we are seeking to give the party and state leadership more valuable help to prepare decisions and to supervise their implementation.

6691
CSO: 2500/329

CIVIL DEFENSE ALERT PROCEDURES OUTLINED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 13, 29 Mar 81 p 14

[Text] An important element of the civil defense system is the ability to warn the population before a threat. This is accomplished by a uniform warning and alert network for the whole country. Within the framework of this system, alert sirens were installed in all cities. The alert may also be publicized via radio, television, radio cars and such alternative means as bells, gongs, factory sirens and lights.

The subject of today's "lesson" are the types of alerts and the means of publicizing them, and behavior in the event of their declaration.

Air Alert

This alert is to warn of an air attack and is announced by a 3-minute siren with a modulated sound. It may also be transmitted over the radio, television or by radio car, with the words "Attention! Attention! I am announcing an aerial alert for the town (area) of..."

The signal ending the alert may be a constant 3-minute siren or an announcement via radio, television or radio car stating "Attention! Attention! I am canceling the aerial alert for the town (area) of..."

If at home when the aerial alert sounds, the first thing to do is to disconnect all types of stoves--electric and gas, heaters and lights (fuses), close the gas inlet and extinguish coal stoves and ovens. Second, take personal anticontamination items, lock the apartment and together with the remaining tenants go to the shelter or other hiding place.

If the alert signal occurs while at school or at work, unquestioningly follow the instructions of the school, enterprise or institution authorities (otherwise, panic might easily result). Production peculiarities of some industries might require that a portion of the crew remain at their work stations or at least in their vicinity. (Suitable hiding places should be ready.) The others should go to hiding places and shelters.

If in some unexpected place when the aerial alert sounds, obey instructions transmitted by loudspeakers. In the event that there are no such instructions, hide in

nearby hiding places. If caught on the edge of town when the alert sounds, it is best to take any available transportation out of town, where it will be safer.

Since after an aerial alert the danger of a nuclear attack may be expected, it is worth knowing certain protective properties of the land, buildings and even vehicles against the effects of nuclear weapons.

The shock wave of a nuclear blast acts much more strongly on a person on the slope of an elevation on the side of the blast than on someone on the other side of a hill or building.

Ravines, gullies and other ground indentations also have shelter properties. Their degree depends, however, on their depth and location in relation to the spreading of the shock wave. If the earth's indentation runs in the same direction as the spread of the shock wave, its shelter properties are zero. But if it runs perpendicular or at an angle to the wave, then the shock wave's negative effect is reduced twofold or even threefold.

Narrow ravines have the best shelter properties, but one can and should take advantage of such ground shelters as hillocks, depressions and bomb and missile craters. There is also some shelter in the growth on the ground, especially woods, which to a large degree slow down the air velocity in a shock wave.

Nagasaki, on which the Americans exploded an atom bomb in 1945, lies in a river valley which is surrounded on both sides by 300-400 meter hills. During the nuclear explosion, the hill chain and its vegetation created a shadow which covered a quarter of the city. In this section the number of people injured was three times smaller, and the number killed five times smaller, than in the other sections of the city. This shows that the terrain's shape and cover also offer shelter against thermal and penetrating radiation. (For instance, a sparse, leafy wood weakens thermal radiation twofold.)

A person who is caught by a nuclear blast on open land should immediately hide behind a tree, building, mound or any other obstruction in the terrain. If there is no such obstruction in the vicinity, one should fall face down on the ground with the feet in the direction of the blast, palms under the body and eyes closed. This may prevent burning of hands and face and blindness, as well as reduce the effects of the shock wave.

If the explosion occurs when at home, lie down on the floor by the external (window) wall or hide behind a cabinet for shelter against thermal radiation and rubble.

Truck beds (covered and shielded with canvas) or the driver's cab are also shelters against thermal radiation. At the first flash of the explosion, the driver should immediately duck below the windshield for shelter against thermal radiation and debris. Persons finding themselves in an open truck should lie face down on the bottom of the platform and if possible against the wall lateral to the blast.

Warning of Contamination Threat

This usually follows the announcement of an air alert. Its signal is the three-time repetition (via radio, television and radio car) of "Attention! Attention!

Persons finding themselves in the area of (...) around (hour, minutes), may be threatened with contamination (type of contamination) from the direction of..."

Cancellation of the warning is announced by the repetition three times of the words "Attention! Attention! I am canceling the warning concerning contamination threats (e.g. radioactivity, chemicals)" or a continuous three-minute siren.

Warning of contamination threats should be announced at the latest one-half hour before radioactive fallout or chemical contamination. Thus there will be plenty of time to close apartment windows and doors, stuff unnecessary openings and hide in shelters. Before going to a shelter or other hiding place, make sure that the apartment has been safeguarded against radioactive fallout.

Food must also be remembered. Food remaining in the apartment should be put into refrigerators, cabinets and boxes. A supply of water should also be left.

One should take to the shelter personal anticontamination remedies as well as the necessary food and water supply (for at least 2 days).

It may happen that there is no time to warn against the threat of contamination, and then a contamination alert will be announced.

Contamination Alert

This is announced by means of a siren. A sound lasting 10 seconds will be emitted every 15-20 seconds for 3 minutes. The alert may also be announced by the repetition three times of "Attention! Attention! I am announcing a contamination alert for (type of contamination) for the town (area) of..."

Cancellation of the alert is by three-time repetition of "Attention! Attention! I am canceling the alert for contamination (type) for the town (area) of..." The alert may be canceled by means of a siren sounding continuously for 3 minutes (as in the warning of contamination threat).

As soon as the alert is sounded, go to the shelter or other hiding place, taking with you personal protection items, food and water supplies, change of clothing, toilet articles, etc.

How much time is spent in the shelter and further action depend on the area in which there is contamination. If it is an area of moderate contamination (A), then the stay in the shelter is relatively short--several hours. In the city, it is possible to remain in the apartment, but on the condition that it is properly safeguarded against radioactive fallout. When staying at home, it is absolutely necessary to take advantage of personal protection resources. At the workplace, work may be continued, but also on the condition that personal protection is practiced. Outdoor work should be discontinued for at least 3-4 hours.

In an area of strong contamination (B), staying in the open could result in a dose of radioactivity causing radiotoxemia within 12 hours, which is why protection efforts must be much greater. During the first 3 days, time spent outdoors must be limited

to the fullest extent. Do not go out earlier than 12-14 hours from the time the alert is sounded.

In an area of dangerous contamination (C) or especially dangerous contamination (D), exposure to radiation can be prevented only by remaining in shelters, and that for a period of several days. Later, it is possible to leave the shelter, but only for a very short time (up to an hour).

In the event of chemical contamination, personal protection steps must be immediately initiated.

Attention: In the event of contamination by a poisonous liquid, do not look for shelter, but rather for antiseptic remedies.

9461
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PERFECTION OF DEMOCRACY, SOCIALIST AWARENESS EXAMINED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, 5 Jun 81 pp 11, 12, 52

[Article by Dr Maria Nastase Georgescu: "Democracy and Socialist Awareness"]

[Text] The perfection of democracy during the current stage of the development of our society requires the broad participation of the workers in the elaboration and carrying out of all the country's domestic and foreign policies. The direct and responsible involvement of the members of society in leadership activities represents the sole means of fulfilling the objectives of socialism under the best conditions. As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed at the 60th anniversary of the party, "It is necessary for us to be fully aware that the new stage of development requires an improvement in the organization and activities of our socialist state and a democratization of organizational forms in order to permit all workers, regardless of their nationality, and all the people to participate directly in the elaboration of all the state's domestic and foreign policies and in their fulfillment."

The achievement of such a requirement calls for the development of consultative facets in the participation of the masses in leadership activities through the information that precedes the decisionmaking act regarding the variety of the demands and requirements, as well as through the information that stems from review activities on the carrying out of decisions. Similarly, an important role in this regard is played by the contribution of the masses to the decisionmaking act in their areas of competence and specialization and through the direct cooperation of the overall leadership factors with the workers and specialists in different sectors.

Socialist democracy is expressed in the fact that the people's power is the expression of the workers' interests and belongs to the masses through their participation in leadership. A substantial modification in the content of socialist democracy, one which proves its superiority, lies in the fact that, for the first time in history, the overall leadership of society is subordinated to the interests of all its members.

By virtue of the existence of socialist production and social relations, the objective roots that blocked the exercise of leadership in accordance with the fundamental interests of all the members of society have disappeared. The

elimination of antagonisms and the dynamics of the fundamental interests of the social classes and categories during the construction of the socialist society, in the direct of bringing them closer together and harmonizing them, ensure the premises for modifying the relationship of the individual with the collective group so that the affirmation of the workers' rights and liberties is not done by restricting these rights in favor of other social category, but by creating the opportunities for the affirmation of each individual, with this representing a condition for the development of the overall socialist society.

The achievement of the attributes of the superiority of socialist democracy is necessarily combined with the communist party's direction of leadership, as an expression of the political position of the working class and its common interests with the other categories of workers, whose development and emancipation are tied to the advancement of all of society.

At the same time, the effective and permanent participation of the masses in leadership activities is the aspect that gives a real content to the process of developing and perfecting democracy. The direct, active participation of the working masses in the management of enterprises and institutions, all socialist units and all of society constitutes a legal requirement. In this context, democracy is shown to be a motive force that directly influences the achievement of the objectives and values of socialism. As a result, any underestimation of the necessary nature of the participation of the masses in management becomes the source of serious dysfunctions; first of all, due to the fact that currently the complexity of leadership activities call for the ever more intense use of the thoughts and experiences of those who are directly involved in the production process and in the operations of the most varied fields of social affairs. This requirement is expressed as an objective tendency of contemporary times, which, especially under the conditions of socialism, have broad opportunities for achievements.

Similarly, the guarantee for the affirmation of socialism's values is closely tied to the manner in which the masses' contribution is ensured in harmonizing relations between the objectives of leadership and the interests of the social classes and groups, in accordance with the specific historical conditions and the possibilities existing at a given moment. Since the fundamental common interests do not mean identical interests, they do not exclude the existence of certain contradictions, both with regards to their different particular aspects and with regards to the manner in which the relationship is expressed between current and future interests. This statement even more clearly shows the importance of the masses' contribution regarding the strategy of priorities and opportunities and their consensus in establishing options. The overall functionality of society influences the general satisfaction of interests, and the adequate reflection of this as particular interests of a class, a group or even a sociodemographic category presupposes the intensification of the broad masses' participation in different forms and phases of the leadership process.

Since not even under socialism can an abstraction be made of the problem of specific interests, the modification of the statute on ownership by acquiring the attribute of collectivity does not in itself solve the relationship between the general interests and those of a group or an individual. The new type of ownership does not automatically produce changes in the awareness and behavior of the producers of goods, activities and services. Behaviors have been dominated for a long time by the models belonging to the old systems, while the manner in which the workers relate to socialist ownership frequently takes on an abstract form.

During the process of building socialism, it is true that the complexity of the tasks and certain conditions within some of the socialist countries (the working class was not sufficiently developed from a numerical point of view, the masses had a low level of culture and professional competence and so forth) caused a large portion of the attributes of the right to collective ownership to be assumed by the central organs of power and administration. This situation created not only a voluminous administrative apparatus, but also resulted in, among other things, expressions of formalism, the lack of responsibility, disinterest and so forth.

The measures adopted by our party for the introduction of worker self-administration and self-management have increased the role of the workers collective in the proper administration of that portion of the social wealth entrusted to them and their responsibilities in the solution of the different problems of economic and social activities. In this manner, a real opportunity has been created for a functional decentralization that will lead to the streamlining of the administrative apparatus and to the elimination of certain negative aspects in management activities, such as parallelism, lack of mobility and diverse forms of bureaucratic activities. On the other hand, worker self-administration and self-management is designed to contribute to the practical political education of the workers.

Democratic awareness is expressed in a variety of ways. First of all, we should mention the awareness of the need to effectively and permanently participate in different forms of management and organization and, in general, in the carrying out of all fields of activity under good conditions. The development of the habit of participating, an expression of a right and a duty to society, is influenced by an organizational framework and a democratic climate in interpersonal relations that will permit the masses' continuing access to all the aspects of the management process, as well as by professional competence. Precisely for that reason, many of the forms of participation are gradually expressed during the process of democratic practices.

Participation requires the awareness of responsibilities. In analyzing the manner in which the new economic-financial mechanism is currently operating, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has stressed on a number of occasions the importance of using

the full potential of the existing institutional framework in our country for the affirmation of democracy, emphasizing that in the operation of this framework formal aspects sometimes appear. It has come out that one of the aspects that lead to the maintenance of certain shortcomings is closely tied to responsibility, imposing the need to improve and even correct the legal framework, including in the plan, for the purpose of more precisely establishing personal and collective responsibilities.

In the carrying out of democratic affairs, a series of shortcomings can be found whose causes also have their basis in negative phenomena of awareness. The mechanical application of certain normative acts, decisions and directives of the higher party organs without keeping in mind the different specific conditions can lead to undesired results which are sometimes contrary to the outlined objectives. Many times, attitudes of formalism in leadership make abstracts out of the need for certain measures that will make a prior analysis of the current and future consequences that will be brought about by their implementation. This means of action hides a narrow political horizon, be it from a certain type of convenience or from insufficient professional competence. In some cases, a lack of responsibility os covered up by principled orders or directives from higher organs. Rigidity and bureaucratic practices in the operation of certain organs have continued to be expressed in some situations precisely as an expression of a lack of responsibility. A clear example in this regard was pointed out by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the Conference on Agriculture, noting that much time is lost in filling out documentation in order to justify the failure to achieve plan tasks "instead of the specialists, ministry personnel and personnel from agricultural organs going out into the fields to take specific actions to find the necessary solutions for fully carrying out the plan."

As an operating principle of the state and society, democratic centralism finds its adequate implementation and its full or potential affirmation only if it is adapted to each stage of development in the building of the socialist society. The operation of this principle during the current stage, and the functional decentralization which it requires, does not effect the unity of leadership, but involves the growth of the degree of the masses' creativity and the increase in the workers' initiatives in different sectors of activity, as well as in mass and public organizations. At the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party and in other party documents, expressions of excessive centralism and bureaucratism were pointed out in the work of the state apparatus. Among those solutions outlined was the need for the activities of the leadership councils in the ministries and other central organs to be based upon the active participation of the masses of workers and specialists. In this regard, the March 1981 Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party stressed the need to increase the requirements of the leadership cadre in the different fields of activity and the collective responsibilities in the promotion of this participation.

Creativity and initiative are incompatible with a lack of order and discipline. The unity between the general interests and particular interests call for the strengthening of law, order and discipline, conditions for achieving democracy and carrying out the objectives of socialism. The requirements of the current stage of development of socialist democracy call for order and discipline and respect for the law to be achieved by increasing self-control and self-discipline regarding one's own activities and by consciously adopting them to the behaviors of the workers.

Since the state exercises the right to issue orders in the name of the collective owners of the means of production for the purpose of satisfying the interests of all the members of society, dysfunctionalities at the level of an economic unit or institution can have negative effects upon the functionality of overall society. In this sense, the perfection of democracy cannot be conceived outside of the responsibilities for the general interests of society, and the development of autonomy and initiatives from below is necessary only within the framework of a unified leadership and a single development program for society.

Our party has analyzed the factors that lead to the development and perfection of democracy, stressing, among other things, the need to increase the degree of the masses' culture and pometence, the development of socialist awareness, the improvement of the organizational framework and the implementation of the principles of leadership in accordance with each stage of development. In this context, an institutional network, unique in its own way, was created that permits the participation of the workers in the leadership of different sectors of activity and all of society.

An important role in the masses' participtation in the leadership of society is played by the public organizations (trade unions, cooperatist unions, youth organizations, women's organizations and so forth), representing the social classes and categories and the sociodemographic and socioprofessional groups that characterize the current social structure of our country. Such organizations are designed to express, at the level of the overall social system, the specific requirements and peculiarities of the different social categories, class interests, group interests and individual interests. Along this line, the Second Congress of Trade Unions forecast the growth of the role of the public organizations in general in the process of building a multilaterally developed socialist society.

The process of organically integrating public power in society is achieved through a continuing improvement in the relationships in bringing closer together and of cooperation between party and state organs, mass and public organizations and the workers collectives in different sectors. The originality of our political system is also expressed in the manner in which the state organs more and more combine the principle of representation with direct forms of mass participation. At the same time, the mass and public organizations, generally constituting the

direct forms of worker participation in leadership, are included through their representatives at the level of all state organs and other collective leadership organs. Similarly, one can stress the practice of attracting the masses into the leadership of society in their fields of competency and specialty through the multiple and varied means of dialogue with the party and state organs.

The move to a new quality in the area of political affairs and in the process of perfecting democracy requires a growth in the social awareness of the masses. The exigencies called for during the current stage of development in our society and the intensification of the workers' direct participation in the diverse aspects of leadership activities require the broadening of the workers' political horizons. Among the considerations that more clearer point out this requirement, we can note the acceptance of certain public functions by the broad masses; the accentuation of the masses' review at all levels; the diversification of the forms of consulting with the workers and the growth of the role of public opinion in the variety of its forms of expression; the extension of the principle of collective work; and, the strengthening of the law as an expression of the workers' conscious mastery of it.

In addition to political-ideological activities, one of the most efficient means of developing awareness is practical political education. Effective participation in the solution of different social problems accelerates the process of developing awareness and leads to a growth of social responsibility.

Along with the development of socialist society and the maturation of social, political and ideological conditions, the opportunities are created for the perfection of socialist democracy and the affirmation of its capacity as a motive force for the new order. The especially complex tasks of the current stage in our country require the use of the entire potential offered by socialist democracy in the variety of its significance, not only as an expression of leadership exercised in the name of the masses, but especially as an effective and permanent participation by the masses.

Together with a growth in the role of socialist awareness, the development of democracy represents especially significant coordinates for carrying out the objectives of the 12th Party Congress for creating a multilaterally developed socialist society.

8724
CSO: 2700

ROMAN PRESENCE IN MOLDAVIA IN FIRST MILLENIUM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, 5 Jun 81 pp 36-38

[Article by Dr Dan Gh. Teodor of the "A. D. Xenopol" Institute of History-Archeology in Iasi: "The Roman Presence in Moldavia in the Second Half of the First Millenium"]

[Text] As a result of numerous and broad archeological research efforts undertaken throughout Romania to understand the history of the first millenium of our times, a significantly large number of scientific data has been accumulated in recent decades which has resulted in bringing up for discussion again certain aspects of the problem regarding the formation of the Romanian people from new points of view, compared to those of the inter-war period historiography. These new points of view are incomparably richer, more complete and closer to the historical realities of the development of this process.

In this context, the numerous archeological discoveries in the region to the east of the Carpathians, some of them of great scientific value obtained as a result of broad diggings, probes or intensive surface research, as well as the comparative studies regarding similar and contemporary vestiges from the rest of Romanian territory, gave the researchers a rich and significant number of data. Their use contributed to the clarification or precise understanding of certain aspects referring especially to the characteristics and evolution of local civilizations during the period of the fourth to tenth centuries A.D. In this regard, the fact must be stressed that, just as in the entire Romanian Carpathian-Ponto-Danubian region and in the regions to the east of the Carpathians, the continuity of the native population during the period of the fourth to the tenth centuries A.D. can be followed in the rural areas, where the sedentary Daco-Romanian resistance and, later, that of the Romanians preserved the ancient forms of organization, such as the village council with its mixed economy - agricultural and pastoral - and with its internal structure differing from that of the communities in the neighboring territories. This continuity during this historical period is illustrated by the life style adopted by the native people under the specific political and social-economic conditions brought about by the temporary presence there of certain migratory peoples.

Contrary to certain older or newer theories lacking scientific substantiation, the archeological research carried out in recent decades incontestably prove that the Romanization process of the Geto-Dacian population did not end with the abandonment of Dacia province, but, on the contrary, it continued and even intensified during the course of the fourth to sixth centuries A.D., gradually and irreversibly encompassing the extra-Carpathian territories. Furthermore, it is known that the presence of the Roman Empire for a certain period of time, during the third and fourth centuries A.D., in some parts of Wallachia and Oltenia, as well as in southern Moldavia, favored the continuation of the Romanization process not only in these territories, which were effectively occupied and for a long time became a kind of annex to Moesia, but also in the regions farther away from the Danube, to the east of the Carpathians, which were also closely tied to the Roman material and spiritual life from earlier times. Numerous settlements and necropolises dating to the end of the fourth century until the middle of the fifth century and spread to an equal degree in all forms in Dacia to the east of the Carpathians (many of these places were methodically researched through broad archeological diggings) offer important proof about the stage of socioeconomic development of the native people and the clearly Roman traits that characterize the civilization specific to these regions. Such discoveries were made at Nicolina and Ciurchi-Iasi, Nichiteni and Corlateni-Botosani, Zaharesti-Suceava, Costica and Davideni-Neamt, Dodesti and Valea Seaca-Vaslui, Barcea-Galati and so forth.

In the great majority of the cases, the settlements from that era (and frequently the necropolises as well) are placed over other older settlements from the immediately preceding period or, in some cases, are covered by those dating from a later era, which constitutes, without a doubt, eloquent proof not only about the continuity of the native populations in all its forms in these Romanian regions, but also about the uninterrupted existence, on the same village locations, of Daco-Romans who never abandoned their native lands.

Just as in the rest of the Carpatho-Ponto-Danubian region, the archeological research conducted to the east of the Carpathians offered numerous and important proofs that attest to a prosperous life there based on agriculture, raising cattle and practicing numerous crafts, with metalworking occupying first place. The developed tools discovered in the areas researched, the existence of certain iron ore reduction furnaces, pottery sheds and workshops for making ornaments, the rich variety of vases made on a wheel or by hand showing certain Dacian traditions and, especially, Roman ones, the system of building houses and furnaces and other items are essential elements that distinguish the civilization of the native people to the east of the Carpathians, as well as in the other areas of the country, from the material culture belonging to the diverse migratory populations which temporarily came into contact with them and which, for a certain period of time, dominated some of them in the Carpathian-Danubian regions.

In the evolution of the Carpathian-Danubian society, beginning with the middle of the fifth century, the development of certain historical events marks a separate stage with favorable consequences for the development of the Roman presence in these regions. Thus, the immediate effects of the end of political domination by the Huns in the middle of the fifth century (a domination that lasted there for approximately three-quarters of a century) were exp~essed, in certain regions of the country, by the establishment of a period of nearly a century of relative peace and, we could even say, of some economic progress which primarily benefitted the native population, temporarily freed from the uncertain political domination that constituted an impediment to its development. Also benefitting from this new situation, which appeared after the middle of the fifth century, the East Carpathian region, characterized by the civilization generally named the Costisa-Botosani type, illustrates the stage of internal development of the local society during the period of the fifth to sixth centuries A.D. while at the same time showing the nature, intensity and multitude of its relations with the Romano-Byzantine world of the Lower Danube.

Established on the basis of the Daco-Roman material and spiritual culture of the preceding era, the Costisa-Botosani type civilization, in addition to the numerous elements of an older Dacian or Roman style preserved within its make-up, also presents many new characteristics, a consequence of its uninterrupted evolution and its ties to contemporary and similar aspects documented throughout the rest of the country's territory, of the type identified in Transylvania at Bratei, Sighisoara, Taga, Poian, Moresti, Berea and so forth, or in Wallachia and Oltenia at Ipotesti, Bucuresti, Tirgsor, Cindesti, Ciresanu and so forth. In this context, one can show, specifically and overall, the originality and especially the unity of the Roman material and spiritual culture throughout old Dacia, proving with arguments of great scientific value the fact that its founders are Romanized Dacians not only from the former territories administered by the Romans, but also from beyond them, from the rural areas of the free Dacians.

The numerous archeological discoveries in recent years, tools and ornaments, ceramic work of local design and Roman influence, the type of settlements, houses and furnaces, the Romano-Byzantine imports, the use of bronze Byzantine coins and the sedentary agricultural and handicraft nature of the settlements, in general constitute eloquent proof regarding the stage of socioeconomic development of the native population and the Roman content of its civilization. Furthermore, the earlier discovery of numerous vestiges of a Christian nature throughout the entire region to the east of the Carpathians shows the early and massive spread of Latin Christianity, conclusively accepted here not only as a result of the old and multiple ties with the South Danubian Roman world, but also as a natural result of common Latin ethnic, cultural and linguistic traits which characterized both the native population there and the one to the south of the Danube. Such discoveries, some of them of great scientific importance, are seen at Botosana-Suceava, Davideni-Neamt, Traian-Bacau, Costesti-Iasi, Dodesti and Murgeni-Vaslui, Stoicani-Galati and so forth.

Certainly, in maintaining and strengthening the North Danubian Roman presence during the period of the fourth to the seventh centuries A.D., an important role was played by the multiple and permanent ties between the native population and the Roman-Byzantine Empire. In this regard, we must also emphasize the significance of the existence, all along the Danube, of numerous Romano-Byzantine cities that were not only defensive fortresses for the empire, but also economic, political and cultural centers having broad influence in the Romanization process to the north of the Lower Danube.

As the rich and significant archeological discoveries therefore show, during the course of the fourth to the sixth centuries A.D. to the north of the Lower Danube and in the old territories of Dacia, there was a broad ethnic, linguistic and cultural Roman area having its own original and unified characteristics.

Towards the middle and the second half of the sixth century A.D., new and important political events effected the Romanian region to the east of the Carpathians, primarily because of its geographic position. Beginning with the middle of the sixth century, and especially in its second half, more or less compact groups of Slavs penetrated and temporarily settled in the East Carpathian regions and on the eastern part of the Danubian Plain, avoiding the lands of Dobrudja which were still firmly defended by the Empire. Although the penetration and temporary settlement of Slavs in the extra-Carpathian regions of Romania in the second half of the sixth century did not have a peaceful impacy, as can be easily understood, the life in the villages of the native population continued at an intense level, despite the clear disruption of the local production forces caused by the new demographic movements that occurred during this era and continued throughout the seventh century, effecting the entire Carpatho-Ponto-Danubian region. The burying of certain Byzantine monetary treasures in the southern part of Moldavia and eastern Wallachia, containing coins from the end of the sixth century or from the first decade of the next century (at Cudalbi and Movileni-Galati; Horgesti-Bacau; Gropeni-Braila; Plumbuita and Unirea-Ialomita), clearly reflects the fact that the massive penetration of the new migrators and, later, their movement into the Empire disturbed the development of certain regions to the north of the Lower Danube more than was presumed.

In the territory to the east of the Carpathians, the most important archeological research into areas dating from this period (the sixth and seventh centuries A.D.), were undertaken at Botosana, Udesti and Sipot-Suceava, Cucorani-Botosani, Bacau-Curtea Domneasca, Davideni and Izvoare-Neamt, Crucea lui Ferent-Iasi, Dodesti-Vaslui and so forth. The data obtained from these discoveries, which are especially important and significant, gave the researchers the opportunity to carry out a careful and complex analysis on the basis of which they succeeded in identifying the characteristics that define the civilization of the native population on one hand and the material culture belonging to the Slavs that penetrate this region, on the other hand.

As shown by the results of the archeological research carried out, the great majority of the objects dating from the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. are layered over other, older ones, offering the opportunities to find not only a clear continuity of settlements on the same spot and in all forms, but also to make a comparative analysis of the evolution of the native population during this time, when new penetrations of migratory populations occurred. It was found that houses continued to be built in the same manner as during the preceding era, having the same type of stove, built from stones or clay, and the same bread oven, of the Roman type. Inside the houses, they generally discovered the same tools used in agriculture or in diverse handicrafts and household work, with most of them, as well as ornamental objects and Christian objects, produced right there in specialized workshops. They found numerous iron ore reduction furnaces specialized tools, melting pots, printing presses, iron blooms and so forth at Botosana-Suceava, Udesti, Costesti-Iasi, Davideni, Fedesti and Horga-Vaslui, Cucorani-Botosani and so forth. The pottery works in the settlements during this era generally continued the older forms, ornaments and work techniques, belonging to earlier periods, in addition to some new elements.

Imports of amphora, tools and ornamental objects, as well as the circulation of bronze Byzantine coins prove that the regions to the east of the Carpathians, despite the sufficiently troubled political situation, continued to be within the economic and cultural sphere of influence of the Romano-Byzantine Empire.

In comparison to the Roman civilization specific to the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., the material cultural brought by the Slavs who penetrated the extra-Carpathian regions during this time was at an inferior level, having certain archaic aspects. After a short period of living in these territories, the vast majority of the Slavs moved, after 602, to the south of the Danube. The rest of the Slavs staying to the north of the river, sufficiently few in number, as well as those that later penetrated some of the western regions of the country, continued to live, after the seventh century, in contact with the native population and began to adopt the higher forms of Roman civilization within a broad and intensive assimilation process.

Besides the penetration of the proto-Bulgarians towards the end of the seventh century, an event which did not directly effect the region except in the southern regions between the Carpathians and the Nistru, as well as the eastern part of the Danubian Plain as shown by the geographic distribution of certain treasures buried at that time, there was no movement of a second massive wave of Slavic population in this area, but merely the infiltration of certain minor elements of this group, which were to be carried away by the above-mentioned proto-Bulgarian invasion. This explains to a certain degree the temporal and spatial coordinates within which the symbiosis of the Romanians and Slavs took place and the assimilation of the Slavs occurred.

Numerous archeological discoveries in the area to the east of the Carpathians, dating from the eighth century and from the first half of the next one, such as those at Hlincea and Dorobantu-Iasi, Lozna and Horodistea-Botosani, Drumul National-Suceava, Izvoare-Bahna and Dulcesti-Neamt, Dodesti, Fedesti and Falciu-Vaslui, Oituz and Lichitiseni-Bacau, Suceveni and Stoicani-Galati and so forth, attest to the continuing existence of a numerous Romanian population with its own original civilization, developed on ancient Daco-Roman bases and identical to that documented throughout the Carpatho-Ponto-Danubian area. On the basis of the research undertaken, it has been proven that the type of settlement, housing and oven do not have essential changes compared to the preceding era, instead there is a clear evolution with the production forces developing even more.

After a period of relative stagnation, brought about by the economic crisis that enveloped the Byzantine Empire during the course of the seventh to the ninth centuries and, therefore, its relations with the north Danubian Roman world, in the settlements in the East Carpathian regions, as well as throughout the rest of the country, from the eighth century there began an increase and improvement of agricultural tools and other handicraft and household tools. New tools also appeared for gardening and vine growing, there was a continuing growth of activities in the area of processing iron and there was an increase in the number of handicraft workshops and, implicitly, their products. In this regard, the research done brought forth numerous proofs about the making of ornamental objects and certain objects made from bone, wood and stone and especially about activities in the area of pottery making. Beginning during this period, ceramics are to an ever greater degree produced on a wheel in a variety of forms and styles, becoming specific only to the regions of the Lower Danube.

From the data presented by the archeological research, we similarly note that, beginning with the ninth century, to the east of the Carpathians, as well as throughout the entire Carpathio-Danubian region, there was a resumption of the dissemination of diverse Byzantine imports, concomitantly with the carrying out of a certain circulation of Byzantine money, which became especially intense during the 10th and 11th centuries.

Numerous necropolises identified north of the Danube, dating from the seventh to the ninth centuries and having a clear Romanian and Christian nature, likewise prove the maintenance of certain close and continuous ties with the civilization of the Byzantine Empire.

It is important to stress the direct conclusion of the research carried out to date that the civilization in the seventh to ninth centuries, as attested to by the hundreds of settlements and necropolises in the East Carpathian territories of Romania, is absolutely identical to that documented in the rest of the Carpathian-Ponto-Danubian region. The clear unity of the old Romanian material and spiritual culture, which began to make itself fully felt during the eighth century, was possible due to the similar development and stage of development

of society concomitantly throughout the former territory of old Dacia, with this being brought about by the common ethnic and language background and by the similar social-economic organization of the village communities, as well as by multiple and permanent relations with the Byzantine Empire.

The essential Roman characteristics, as well as the presence of certain Byzantine elements in the content of this culture, confer upon the overall civilization in the eighth century and the following century its own peculiar characteristics of the Carpathian-Danubian region through which it clearly distinguishes itself from the material cultures of the Slavs in the neighboring territories. The establishment of a specific civilization right from the eighth century on the territory of old Dacia, defined as an aspect of the Dridu type, corresponds generally with the conclusion of the process of forming the Romanian people. Its establishment in the region to the east of the Carpathians is, without a doubt, the result of a local, long and uninterrupted development on a powerful Daco-Romanian base with deep and rich roots in the thousand-year past of our history.

Towards the end of the first millenium of our times, as a result of the internal changes of an economic and social nature that occurred within the heart of the villages and as a consequence of certain foreign dangers caused by the migrations of certain new peoples, including the Hungarians and Petchenegs which we must first of all note, to the east of the Carpathians and throughout the entire territory of old Dacia fortified settlements started to be built, of the type discovered at Funu-Hertii, Derscam Baranga and Tudora-Botosani, Ciurea and Pocreaca-Iasi, reinforced with defensive ditches and mounds of dirt with palisades. They undoubtedly belong to the old Romanian civilization from the ninth to twelfth century A.D., and clearly prove that the local society in this part of the country was at a stage of development similar to the rest of the Romanian population or to that in the other territories in its vecinity.

With regards to this aspect of the problem it is especially important to point out that certain concentrations of settlements and necropolises dating from the ninth to the eleventh centuries A.D. in certain well-defined and naturally defended geographic subunits were to be the sites of the existence of certain powerful village unions and certain already thoroughly organized Romanian political formations, a significant and decisive fact in understanding the traits that characterize early feudalism to the east of the Carpathians. These traits, themselves stemming from the peculiarities of the internal structure of the Daco-Romanian village councils and, later, the Romanian councils during the period of the first millenium of our era, similarly constitute an eloquent statement about their uninterrupted development and close and direct ties with the Roman-Byzantine and Byzantine worlds in the Lower Danube. Such conclusions can be made on the basis of the research carried out at Suceava; Ionaseni, Spinoasa and Baiceni-Iasi; Danesti, Dodesti and Epureni-Vaslui; Oituz and Oncesti-Bacau; Sendreni-Galati; Cimpineanca and Dragosloveni-Vrancea and so forth.

The continuity of the native population to the east of the Carpathians during the first millenium A.D., as well as throughout the entire Carpathian-Ponto-Danubian region, clearly proved by numerous archeological research projects, was the result of the superior economic and social organization of the local village communities and of the high level of their material and spiritual culture, as well as of a broad and continuing process of Romanization which gradually, but conclusively encompassed the entire territory of old Dacia.

The carrying out and conclusion of the process of forming the Romanian people and language in the territory to the east of the Carpathians, which occurred concomitantly and in a unified manner throughout all of the area of Romanian ethnogenesis, would not have been possible without the continued existence of the Romanized Dacian population and without the direct and multiple ties with the Roman presence in this part of southeastern Europe.

Despite all of the difficulties of the period of the first millenium of our era, the native population in the Carpathian-Ponto-Danubian territories with deep and multimillenia roots in these lands defined with vigor and originality, within the framework of a long and complex historical process, the essential traits that depict it as the sole and most authentic heir of the eastern Roman presence.

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DRAWBACKS OF CONSENSUS-SEEKING PROCESS DESCRIBED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1591, 28 Jun 81 pp 10-12, 14

[Article by Dragos Ivanovic]

[Text] "We face an important responsibility. Don't let the situation tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, comrades, hit us in the face!"

This warning was uttered without pomposity, but in tones of serious concern, by a delegate during the recent rather meandering debate in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of furnishing funds to stimulate foreign trade. It was a question of providing 14 billion dinars, and the Federal Executive Council saw no other possibility for obtaining these funds than to take them from government and social service expenditures, which are larger than they should be.

Everyone agreed in principle, but at the same time everyone had so many individual critical remarks to make that the entire measure was jeopardized because there were so many of them. Don't we often show more passion in defending our separate reasons than in showing our willingness to really detect those interests we have in common? At such a moment of personal divisions and vacillation, the delegates thought it fitting to throw this serious argument into the debate as though on the other pan of the balance: "The situation with our international payments is extremely serious and does not allow for any postponement whatsoever."

Later in fact this issue was resolved in a satisfactory way, but the examples of haggling, hanging back and dragging things out which we often encounter make it imperative that we seriously reassess the practice of our decisionmaking.

The Main Road and the Inevitable Path That Leads Astray

Someone described the way we go about concluding compacts and accords this way in a witty metaphor: This decisionmaking often resembles a train about which the only thing known for certain is where it comes from and who has taken it, but no one knows where it will go and when it will stop. Perhaps this complicated social procedure from the top to the bottom of society, which aside from the main road also has an inevitable path that leads astray, might best be

illustrated by the fate of a resolution--the principal economic document for 1 year.

The procedure for adoption of the resolution ordinarily begins in late October for each year to come. First the preliminary debates are conducted in committees of the assembly, a draft is written, and the republic and provincial assemblies take their position on that document. Reconciliation of these views in the Yugoslav Assembly takes place in December, and at the end of the month the resolution is finally adopted.

It would be premature to say that the job is then over. The decisionmaking train has only reached halfway, since what we have before us is only a list of what we want and what is possible in economic policy for the next year. For this resolution to become "operative" it now has to be furnished measures that guarantee its implementation, and now the republics and provinces, associated labor and many other organizations and agencies have to reach further agreements on all that.

We Can No Longer Remain in a "Nirvana of Generality"

Consensus on all these measures is neither easy nor simple to achieve. Since there is a delay running even to several months, and the measures agreed on, when taken, cannot yield the expected results. For instance, the resolution for this year runs to some 50 tasks which need to be implemented by economic measures adopted with the consent of the republics and provinces or set forth in self-management accords of associated labor. Consensus has been reached on many, but on some it has not yet been reached, though half a year has passed. This incidentally is a practice which has recurred for several years now. Is it any wonder, then, that the resolution for this year is not being carried out the way it was conceived?

The dangers of this deviation are already being noted, but the question being asked is what we can do about the uncontrolled situation of irresponsible delinquency and poor choice of measures, which in turn have the result that our planning documents end up being mere pieces of paper.

According to our custom established over many years, it is then usually said that "someone" has not adopted the agreement, and that "some people" have not taken certain specific measures. Those who say these things, of course, relieve themselves of any responsibility, but they offer little help in finding out who really is at fault.

A few days ago several delegates vigorously asserted that we could no longer remain in this nirvana of generality and of clouding things over. They want it stated in public who has not signed the agreements and who has failed to enact regulations. These should be summoned to the Yugoslav Assembly to explain their actions before the public. This would be a refreshing and interesting departure in the way things are done in the Assembly and would be approved by the public. If responsibility were established in this way, the guilty parties would have to be affected by appropriate measures of the Federal Executive Council.

One of the possible solutions for these unpleasant situations has been suggested by Veselin Djuranovic, who himself was recently the prime minister. He wants the participants in the conclusion of accords and compacts to be given a decent period of time to obtain consensus, and thereafter, in accord with constitutional powers, appropriate measures would be taken by law. This line of action, he is convinced, would not only be in conformity with the essence of our relations in the federal system, but also represents an indispensable condition if we are to avoid the tardiness whose consequences are increasingly serious.

Thus we now have two proposals on how we should avoid these constant and unfortunate delays--proposals which fit more nicely together than they differ.

Out of Step With the Economic Situation

But if the question of deadlines could be reduced to just a matter of better organization, to a more logical and balanced sequence of steps in the decisionmaking procedure, then this hurdle could be taken with relative ease. There are many deeper reasons why the train of our economic policy is always late, why it wanders along its way and gasps as it becomes lost in administrative labyrinths.

They lie above all in the separate interests which by and large we know about and in particular forms of behavior which as a rule we are very poorly informed about. One is encouraged by the willingness to speak more frankly about these "specific forms of behavior." The foundations of our democratic game of political decisionmaking consist of two components: the responsibility of the republics and provinces for their own development and their responsibility for the development of Yugoslavia as a whole.

However, as the chairman of the Federal Executive Council recently said in the Yugoslav Assembly without beating about the bush, "the reaching of consensus of the republics and provinces on the measures of economic policy is evidently out of step with the needs imposed by the present economic situation. Whereas the situation requires effective adoption of economic policy measures and also of measures which are to guarantee enforcement of the jointly established priorities in development, the conclusion of an agreement among the republics and provinces takes a long time and does not facilitate effective action."

The tendencies toward republic and provincial statism, which is arising more and more in the name of associated labor, are becoming stronger. "There is not just the opposition," the chairman of the Federal Executive Council said, "just in the relationship between associated labor and centralistic statism (as we are accustomed to think about it and to speak of it), but also between associated labor and statism, be it centralized or decentralized." What is more, the danger of this latter is indeed greater, since it has more opportunity to adapt and tie up with technocracy "which unfortunately has been strongly confirmed in the decisionmaking on investments."

Everyone Has His Own Part of the Truth

When you speak with the delegates about responsibility for decisionmaking at the top level of society, you frequently have occasion to hear the other side of the issue. It is true, they say, that the Assembly does make the decision, but many things in decisionmaking actually begin and end with the Federal Executive Council. It proposes the measures, it defends them, it takes up the dialogue on critical remarks and it is responsible for carrying out what is adopted.

This is undoubtedly a broad field of political possibilities and constitutional obligations, which also presuppose varying forms of activity. Many delegates feel and on various occasions do not fail to confirm these critical observations of theirs, that the Federal Executive Council is often not acting promptly or vigorously enough. For example, when there is a difference in views between delegations on some issue, it is not always evident what the Federal Executive Council is committed to. And this abstention in cases of disagreement threatens to paralyze decisionmaking or to unnecessarily postpone the final decision.

Disagreements also arise when it is subsequently found that certain measures are not working out in practice. There follows an exchange on the causes of the lack of progress in which each may have his own part of the truth. Some delegates then react strongly and say: "Why doesn't the Federal Executive Council pound the table and say who is responsible?"

It is another question why there is so much opportunism and inexplicable considerations in actual forms of behavior. Perhaps, as some say, this is because even the Federal Executive Council does not have the necessary prerogative in its actions. This refers to those situations when the Federal Executive Council is directed in preparing certain proposals to enter into the necessary consultations with appropriate bodies and agencies of the republics and provinces.

A Question of Confidence Might Also Be Put

Generally speaking, the question of who is to take what measures by what time in order to implement the policy which has been adopted is often debated with quite a few differences and ambiguities. It is just that the Federal Executive Council, which in this respect has definite constitutional and legal powers, undertakes administrative measures with a certain feeling of reluctance, since the latter, even when they are inevitable, "leave less room for decisionmaking by the workers and perpetuate the idea of the all-powerful state."

The delegates in turn are often divided when they assess the purport and value of these measures. Some of them feel that the Federal Executive Council is quick to adopt administrative measures and makes excessive use of them. Nor, moreover, do they avoid rather harsh criticism: Piling one restrictive measure on another does not improve matters, but only takes us further from self-management. Others are convinced that in situations when there is a departure from the established policy, we would fall into still greater difficulties without these measures, and they encourage the Federal Executive Council to make even more use of its power.

These vacillations are to be found not only in debates concerning matters of principle, but also in individual cases when specific steps are to be taken. For instance, when some law is being adopted or policy set forth, then the Federal Executive Council is competent to enforce it. But often our hands are tied, since the Assembly has told it that it must first obtain consent of the republic and provincial executive councils. It is well known what happens then: Often some executive council does not grant its consent, and the decision is postponed.

These untoward situations arouse two types of reaction. Some people are inclined to call for more powers to be granted to the Federal Executive Council and say that the prior consent of the republic and provincial executive councils cannot be sought in such cases of adopting regulations. Others come down hard on the very practice of the Federal Executive Council: Why in a situation when there is no consensus for enforcing the policy that has been adopted doesn't the government use its authority, which is also constitutional, and put a question of confidence?

Of course, all the problems of our self-managing decisionmaking do not lie solely at this federal level or republic level of society. The further one goes toward the base of society, the more rarefied becomes the network of agreements and procedures aimed at agreement. But here again, one hears in various quarters, the dilemmas that arise are just as great.

Someone, for instance, says that we have too many agreements, that we conclude agreements where this is necessary and also where it is not. (One economist remarked in jest: "Pretty soon a man will have to have an agreement to get on a streetcar!")

The critical remarks about the quality of the agreements are much more serious. Although they conform to self-management in their form, the agreements take us away from self-management, especially when they are peddling their own narrow interests. The flows of reproduction are thus interrupted, and the fabric of the unified market torn. So it is no wonder that some people resolutely assert that this kind of discussion and agreement--which is only another expression for administrative action--is actually a fractured decisionmaking which prevents any joint and coordinated action.

As was seen at the Congress of Self-Managers, in many work organizations people have become embittered for this reason and have the feeling that they are hampered by invisible threads outside their control. On the one hand countless agencies and organizations spend several months of effort computing, measuring and foreseeing what will happen with output, prices, exports, spending and the standard of living. On the other the course of events takes a different direction and destroys all that tremendous social effort.

One does not have to be excessively skeptical to realize that this is a story which occurs over and over again year after year. One delegate commented on it this way: "Things that are against the law are beginning to become the custom and take on legitimacy with us." Are we going to turn this sequence of events around so that the situation does not actually hit us in the face all of a sudden?

MACEDONIANS DISCUSS MEASURES TO DEAL WITH ALBANIAN PROBLEMS

New Albanian Textbooks

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 15 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by Z. Andreevski]

[Text] Delegates of three council committees have been working on Albanian language teaching and educational activities for the 1981-82 school year to develop new textbooks and to provide recommendations for normal implementation of educational objectives.

Delegates of the Committee for the Sociopolitical System of the Sociopolitical Council, the Committee for Education, Science and Culture of the Council for Associated Labor, and the Committee for Sociopolitical Relations of the Council of Opstinas of the Macedonian Republic Assembly, at a session held yesterday, considered information relating to several situations for implementing educational activities for the Albanian language in the republic. The introductory remarks regarding the information came from the republic secretary for education and science, Anatolij Damjanovski.

The initiative for considering this material stems from the May session of the Sociopolitical Council, at which time the delegates pointed out that in some textbooks and supplementary literature for high school and higher level students, without instruction in the Albanian language, a foreign ideological content is to be found. The Republic Secretariat for Education and Science was charged with the task of examining all such textbooks and study aids, and was empowered to withdraw those with nationalistic and other ideological content that is alien to Marxism and the self-management socialist society. The secretariat was also charged with considering the moral and political qualities of the Albanian language teaching personnel in the republic.

Worrisome Situations

The information prepared by the Republic Secretariat for Education and Science set forth concrete data for implementing instruction in the Albanian language at primary and secondary schools, university faculties and other advanced training institutions. These data state that a worrisome situation exists at several key points in the educational and upbringing process. To be precise, the textbook literature contains editions published in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, reprinted in the

province of Kosovo and adopted for use in the schools of the republics without critical consideration of the content of the books. The texts in these textbooks have been written from alien idiological and political positions, and they are filled with nationalist and irridentist messages. For example, readings include the books "One Stormy Autumn" by Ali Abdi Hojha, and "The Turning Point" by Fatmir Gata, which as the book notes state "by their ideological foundations, satisfy the needs of Albanian ideology."

In the process of implementing pedagogical programs, asserts Anatolij Damjanovski, there have been instances where programs have been reshaped to the detriment of an affirmation of Yugoslav values.

Where textbooks and instructional materials relating to history are involved, there is a noticeable tendency to ignore facts concerning the interaction between Macedonians and Albanians, while on the other hand overemphasis is placed on studying the activities of Skenderbeg, Ali Pasha Janinski, and the history of Albania since the middle of the last century. Students of the Albanian language and literature group at the Skopje Pedagogical Academy throughout their course of study do not study the literature of Yugoslav peoples and nationalities at any time. At some schools in Gostivar, Tetovo and Kumanovo, they use textbooks that have not been approved for use in Macedonia, such as for example the History for the first class of secondary school by Ali Hadri, and the History of Albanian Literature for the first through fourth classes of secondary school by Dimitar Suteriki.

There are also unsatisfactory methods for evaluating the quality of teaching personnel for the Albanian language. A large number do not have suitable education, ideological conviction, or competence in ideology. Incidents have also been reported in the Opstinas of Kicevo, Tetovo, Gostivar and Struga, where persons have been included in the educational process who have been convicted of enemy activities against the people and the state.

The Macedonian language is offered for 2 hours weekly in the curriculum, which really is not sufficient to permit mastery of the language for normal communication and vital needs. Besides that, a number of instances have occurred where the Macedonian language instruction hours have been boycotted.

What do the Delegates Say

Delegates of the three councils at yesterday's session expressed amazement that such situations had been allowed to emerge. They expressed themselves in favor of energetic and most urgent withdrawal of textbooks containing alien ideologies, and of undertaking measures in 1981-82 school year for Albanian language instructional activities that would use new textbooks where that is feasible, and for giving suitable instructions for work without literature in other cases. The delegates agreed unanimously that it would be better to conduct instruction without textbooks rather than to use ones with ideologically unacceptable content and messages.

The delegate Sejfedin Sulejmani dwelled particularly on the materials being used for primary education. Sulejmani cited numerous unacceptable examples. Among readers for the fifth through eighth grades, some 60-70 percent come from authors of the Albanian People's Republic! He backed up his statement by showing the readers to the delegates. As an example, we might cite that in one of them, four of the

texts were by Macedonian authors, three were by authors of Albanian nationality who were living in Macedonia, and fully 40 texts were by authors of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania (?!) The compiler of three of the four readers shown was Ali Aliu, who was convicted for Albanian nationalist activities. Sulejmani presented yet another example: The Rilindza Publishing House of Pristina published Studies in Esthetics in which Yugoslavia was named as an example of revisionism!! The epilogue for this book was, incidently, written by Ali Aliu (and this book was also presented to the delegates).

Ljutvi Marku also spoke about the unacceptable degree to which authors from the Albanian People's Republic were represented in the textbooks that are used in Macedonia. He offered the opinion that there is no place for those writers in our textbooks, since through these texts they transmit ideological and political positions that we Yugoslavs cannot accept.

Petre Tsvetanovski spoke of the responsibility of people who permit the publishing and use of textbooks containing Albanian nationalist viewpoints. He dwelled on the studying of the Macedonian language by members of the Albanian nationality, stressing that without suitable command of that language, they cannot carry out their employment tasks and assignments, or deal with the problems of production processes.

The statements of other delegates also unequivocally underline the urgency and gravity of implementing the measures that have been proposed. To be specific, measures have been foreseen and the concrete approaches determined for reevaluating the curriculum in educational activities in the Albanian language, and for monitoring their accomplishment. Next there are measures for withdrawing and banning the use of textbooks with alien ideological stands, for testing the moral and political qualities of the teaching personnel, and for removing those who do not perform on agreement with the social objectives of education and upbringing. Accelerated publication is foreseen for textbooks where they are lacking, or where they are needed to replace ones that have been withdrawn from use. Steps will also be taken to ensure adequate instruction in the Macedonian language, and to test the attitudes of those receiving stipends and credits in relation to Albanian nationalist and irridentist manifestations; other steps are also foreseen.

It is expected that the information presented and the proposed measures and steps will be approved at today's sessions of the Macedonian Assembly.

Albanian-Language Teaching

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 15 Jul 81 p 3

[Text] In some curricula, programs and textbooks there are aspects that do not adequately reflect Marxist viewpoints on the national question, Yugoslav community, and the socialist self-management system.

The commission for international relations of the Macedonian Assembly, at yesterday's session chaired by Spirko Spirovski, considered information concerning certain situations relating to the implementation of Albanian language instruction.

In discussing instructional plans, programs and particularly textbooks of the Albanian language, literature, history, sociology, etc., the commission determined

that there were factors present that did not adequately reflect Marxist viewpoints on the national question, or the brotherhood and unity of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, the expanded national community, and the Yugoslav socialist self-management system.

The commission particularly condemned those manifestations in instructional programs and in individual textbooks and materials that show the presence of a content that indoctrinates ideologically alien influences of Albanian nationalism and irridentism. The commission pointed out that concrete measures should be taken against such manifestations to eliminate everything that is alien to the ideological educational nature of the Yugoslav self-management socialist society.

The commission also directed special attention at the study of the Macedonian language. Here the stand was adopted that the materials used at some schools did not direct attention to the study of the Macedonian literary language, or to the development of a qualified teaching staff. This had led to poor quality in the teaching of this subject, and to poor mastery of the Macedonian language by students of Albanian nationality in some areas. For this reason, and with a view to the fact that part of the students of this nationality are guided into continuing their education in secondary schools and universities where Macedonian is the language of instruction, and for a number of other objective needs in public life and public communications, it is essential that the Macedonian language be offered paralled to the Albanian language in educational institutions, and that such instruction be qualitatively and quantatively better than it is now. Here special concern must be devoted to developing suitable teaching personnel.

As stressed in the material presented to it, the commission stated that in some primary and secondary schools, as well as in institutions of higher education, teachers are employed who have been convicted or against whom ideological corrective measures have been directed because of their hostile activities regarding Albanian nationalist and irridentist positions. As the commission stressed in the report of its past session, there is no place in educational training organizations for such persons.

Question of Albanian Flag

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 16 Jul 81 p 3

[Text] A change has been suggested in the law on the use of flags.

At yesterday's session of the Opstina Council, the delegate from Struga, Veli Shaipi, presented the resolution of the Struga opstina assembly to initiate a change in the law on the use of flags. The proposal would eliminate from that law the provision by which use of (the Albanian) flag is permitted for members of the Albanian nationality living in Macedonia.

In justifying the initiative, Shaipi said that the flag now being used by the Albanian nationality group in Macedonia is the flag of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which since 1948 has carried on a constantly hostile policy toward Yugoslavia. The Struga delegate pointed out that that flag has symbolized for them an extreme Albanian nationalism and irridentism, and that under this flag, whose form and content is not regulated by a single positive regulation, one can

find not only the internal enemy of Albanian nationality, but also adherents of international reactionary positions including Zogists, Balists, Enver (Hojha's) lackies, Ustashe and other hostile elements living abroad.

According to Veli Shaipi's report, the Struga opstina assembly has initiated this action at the request of members of the Albanian nationality group in the Struga opstina.

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ANTI-YUGOSLAV PROPAGANDA IN ALBANIAN DICTIONARY CONDEMNED

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 17 Jul 81 p 7

[Text] A review is presented from the current issue of the Albanian language newspaper FLAKA E VLAZERIMIT, highlighting the overly generalized and tendentious interpretations of several terms in the recent edition of the "Dictionary of the Modern Albanian Language," published in Tirana.

In today's issue, the newspaper FLAKA E VLAZERIMIT presented an article entitled "Anti-Yugoslav Propaganda Even in the Dictionary," which stated the following: "The depth to which Albania is descending into the murky waters of hostile propaganda against Yugoslavia is shown by the 'Dictionary of the Modern Albanian Language,' and the tendentious interpretations of certain terms in it, as prepared in the political offices of Enver Hojha, in order to throw dust in the eyes of both the domestic reader and those abroad who use the dictionary. Obviously not everyone is satisfied with the licentious language and slander of Radio Tirana, ZERI I POPULLIT, other radio stations, newspapers, propaganda books and other media. The dictionary will be used (by Tirana) for its malicious politics, and as everyone knows, that is an application that should have a scholarly character.

"The Dictionary of the Modern Albanian Language" (Tirana, 1980) was published by the Albanian Academy of Sciences and the Institute for Language and Literature, and copies of it, brought in by various means, can be found here in Yugoslavia. It deforms and maliciously interprets the meaning of a number of terms. Such, for example, is the case with the word "vetadministrim," (page 2141 No 2), which Albania, in contrast to the Albanians living in Yugoslavia and living under this system, stubbornly uses for the word "vetkeverisje" or self-management. Their intention is to distort the meaning of the content of the word by interpreting it as a state institution, rather than as a social one in the true meaning of the term." Here is how Tirana politics interprets the Yugoslav notion of self-managment:

"It is a bourgeois system of administration that modern revisionists have established in their economic enterprises and in all walks of life, which is supposedly a creative application of democracy and of popular participation in management. In reality, it removes the working class from its role of guiding and controlling the state and takes away the possibility for the working class to protect its own interests; it promotes anarchy, unequal development and competition, creates political and ideological chaos, increases social differences and complexities in intellectual life, feeds bourgeois individualization and transforms social

property into the property of the management groups, the new bourgeoisie, which claims the added value and becomes wealthy on the shoulders of the workers and the other working masses. This is Yugoslav self-management."

"The Dictionary of the Modern Albanian Language" expresses its "scholarly" (read propagandistic and anti-Yugoslav) stand in a number of other definitions. Modern revisionism (page 1651) to it is "the revisionism that emerged during World War II and which has taken control in a number of countries, where it is used against communism and the revolution." Then as it continues, the dictionary cites as examples Yugoslav revisionism (Soviet, Chinese). Thus accusing Yugoslavia as a revisionist country. "The Dictionary of the Modern Albanian Language," just like the babble of Radio Tirana and ZERI I POPULLIT, also regards it as a bureaucratic (page 200) country in which most of the ruling class (page 1517) has come from the bourgeoisie (page 165), and so on.

For this dictionary, the unaligned countries are "bourgeois and revisionist countries (states) that, according to some wise revisionists and various opportunists, supposedly do not belong to some military or economic block led by the superpowers, but that in reality in various forms and ways are tied to them." (page 1316)

These and similar overgeneralized and tendentious interpretations by this dictionary clearly speak of its unscholarly and propagandistic nature. "The Dictionary of the Modern Albanian Language" could be a useful work, since for 26 years they have been publishing the "Dictionary of the Albanian Language," which now is very inadequate and antiquated in many aspects. Unfortunately, however, the new dictionary is ruined as it bows before the ship of politics dictated from Tirana. It is transformed into a propaganda instrument, and for these reasons we believe that as a tendentious dictionary, with malicious political objectives, it cannot serve the reader or institutions, and should not be allowed into our country.

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UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENT DISPUTES REVIEWED

Sarajevo SVIJET in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jun 81 pp 4-5

[Article by Slavko Stanic]

[Text] In the rather acute financial conditions faced by educational institutions, some large universities are trying to close their doors to the flood of students from other areas.

As a rule, at this time of year the newspapers are full of polemical speeches, reports and commentaries about registering new generations of high school and college students. If our future lawyers, economists, professors, docto s and archeologists, not to list all the professions, read all that is written about the future value of their diplomas, they may become apathetic toward study and scholarship. Judging from data of employment offices, even today these graduates are having difficulty finding positions. For example, in Belgrade it has already been calculated that in the next five years there will barely be openings for about a thousand lawyers and economists, while this year alone, seven times that number of students will enroll in those schools of the university. The situation is even less clear for future archeologists, dentists, journalists, art professors, political scientists, sociologists and graduates with technical training, as well as teachers of language and literature, etc. Parents who diligently follow everything that is written and said, instead of being proud that their children are entering high schools and universities these days, will become pessimistic at the thought of the fate of the diploma that their child will receive in four or five years. For that reason, there have been quite a few family discussions that at times finish not merely with "political pressure" on the child to choose "the right school," but even with force.

Great Difficulties

Probably a part of the problem has been caused by the general climate that has been created and nurtured for decades in which, despite the fact that Yugoslavia is a workers' state, a distinction has been made between "true workers" and others. Those others are the citizens with so-called "academic degrees," and everyone, even the sparrows, knows that they were destined for well-lighted offices and higher, guaranteed pay. Therefore it is no wonder that, at the Self-Management Leaders Congress, it was repeated dozens of times that productive work cannot be given a value by resolutions and decisions, but by dinars. True, that is nothing

new. Those conclusions have been reached at all major Yugoslav political meetings in the last ten years or so. Speaking honestly, however, few, if any, results are to be found anywhere. There are regulations under which, for nothing except the possession of a diploma, a person receives higher pay or a dinar supplement, to say nothing of other benefits. Yet that violates the system of rewards according to labor performed, a process that cannot be completed overnight because, for one reason or another, it will always be a component part of the struggle to develop self-management or of efforts to strengthen our overall Yugoslav community.

At this time of year, directly or indirectly, this factor always crops up during the registration of new generations of high school and university students. In the rather acute financial circumstances that affect educational institutions, some large universities attempt to close their doors to the flood of students from other republics and provinces. That recently came to light in the delegates' questions concerning the problems of Vojvodina students who gravitate toward the Yugoslav capital because geographically Belgrade is closer to them, and because of this their school expenses are significantly lower there. Belgrade University's inability to accept everyone who wants to study there is not the only difficulty. There is the problem of uncoordinated study programs at various high schools, so that the barriers to gaining admission are even greater for young people who are not from Serbia proper. The situation, however, is similar at other university centers, and the difficulties facing young people who wish to change their republic or province in selecting their place of advanced schooling are at times insurmountable.

For years there has been talk of the need to reimburse the universities in one sociopolitical community for the expense of educating students from other regions. That has remained an open question, although some self-management agreements should have found a suitable mechanism that would to one degree or another wipe out the boundaries blocking the wishes of young people, so that they could freely and without discrimination select the university center at which they wish to study.

There is a very ugly sound to recently discovered plans for enrolling students, according to which limits would be placed on universities in one republic for students coming from another republic, regardless of the quality or success they had achieved at their high schools. It is even worse when a "nationality key" is added to that youthful dossier, so that it is stated, as recently happened at the university in Pristina, that for every three of four freshmen of Albanian nationality, one who is not Albanian can be enrolled. With full understanding of the concern generated here in Yugoslavia for the education of nationality groups that live in the country, and for planning for their education to that purpose, nevertheless the insertion of a "nationality key" into education cannot be accepted either politically or for any other reason. By so doing we would be making national heritage into a privilege that would drastically devalue other criteria that should be weighed in enrolling students, such as their previous work records or evaluations of their high school success. Another question, which deserves the highest attention, is the matter of ensuring that each people and nationality is provided with all necessary material conditions, so that increasing numbers of young people from its ranks will be able to enter advanced

schools. Imagine how it would sound if Sarajevo University or some other university in the country were to establish an enrollment plan which stated in advance that a certain percentage of Moslems, so many Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, Hungarians, etc., would be accepted.

The Experience of Vojvodina

Another question deeply effects the Yugoslav community; it relates to the language of instruction at various advanced and lower schools.

Without citing the constitutional rights of Yugoslav citizens regarding language, everything points to the conclusion that one must know not only his or her mother language, but also the language of the place in which he or she is attending school or working. That cannot be left to the good will of the individual, but rather must be achieved by making the study of the local language a mandatory subject, at least to the same extent that French, English or some other foreign language is required. Without that, we would be so bold as to say that there can be no solid community in Yugoslavia, nor free circulation of the labor force within the unified Yugoslav marketplace.

How can a future lawyer who is Serbian, who comes from Kosovo, find a position in thatprovince--where 70 percent of his fellow workers cannot function using his mother language--if he does not know Albanian; or the opposite, how can a young economist of Albanian nationality get a job in Titograd if he must obtain an interpreter in order to carry out his responsibilities. How can a Croat or a Montenegrin fulfill his self-management employment functions in Slovenia if he does not know Slovenian. Another matter relates to the manner in which that new environment is to provide supplementary instruction in their mother language for his children. In that regard, a position of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee stated three years ago was very clear in requiring that by now, we should have a number of schools in republics and provinces that offer either regular or supplementary instruction in the mother tongue of workers and citizens who, in seeking work, have found themselves in a linguistic environment other than their own.

That becomes a major question for the Yugoslav community, and therefore it is no wonder that in Vojvodina, more than 80,000 young people are already studying the languages of their neighbors and comrades, and the other way round so that 90 percent of the Hungarian nationality group's students and pupils are attending courses in Serbo-Croatian, so that in this respect at least they will be able to seek work in environments where that is the official language. At the first session of the provincial committee of the Kosovo League of Communists, Fadilj Hodza was very insistent that in his province, the languages of peoples and nationalities must not only be equal, but they must also be required subjects at schools and universities. He had in mind both their centuries-old mutual traditions and the possibility of facilitating the circulation of the labor force within the Yugoslav federal community, for despite all our wishes and plans, we should not nurture illusions that we will achieve full employment exclusively by creating jobs where there are excess workers. Rather, in the search for employment the labor force must move outside its sociopolitical community, and thereby outside the region where its mother tongue is spoken. That, incidently, is becoming one of the imperatives of our social community.

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